

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12 NEA-10

GAC-01 TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 CU-04 IO-12 SCA-01

OIC-04 RSR-01 /127 W

----- 053110

R 261255 Z MAY 73

FM AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6186

INFO SECDEF WASHDC

ALL CSCE CAPITALS 264

USMISSION BERLIN

C O N F I D E N T I A L HELSINKI 1416

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: CSCE - MAY 21-25 DISCUSSION OF PRINCIPLES

REF: HELSINKI 1322

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. MINI- GROUP CONCENTRATED ON CATALOGUE OF PRINCIPLES DURING WEEK OF MAY 21. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NON- USE OF FORCE AND FRONTIER INVIOABILITY WAS CLARIFIED SATISFACTORILY, AGREEMENT WAS REACHED TO ADD REFERENCE TO RELIGIOUS FREEDOM, AND SOVIETS ACCEPTED ORDERING OF PRINCIPLES IN SWISS LIST. ONLY REMAINING PROBLEM WITH LIST INVOLVES ROMANIAN EFFORT TO EXPAND SOVEREIGN EQUALITY PRINCIPLE. END SUMMARY.

2. DURING WEEK MINI- GROUP SATISFACTORILY DISPOSED OF CATALOGUE OF PRINCIPLES. WESTERN REPS ( FRG REINFORCED BY ITALY, UK, IRELAND, US, AND SWITZERLAND) SPOKE TO CLARIFY AND EMPHASIZE THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NON- USE OF FORCE AND FRONTIER INVIOABILITY, I. E. INVIOABILITY IS UNDERSTOOD AS MEANING NON- USE OF FORCE AND DOES NOT RULE OUT PEACEFUL FRONTIER CHANGES. NEITHER SOVIET NOR GDR CONTEXTED THESE

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STATEMENTS. BY PREARRANGEMENT, SWISS COORDINATOR ASKED SOVIET REP ( MENDELEVICH) AS PRACTICAL EXAMPLE WHETHER PENDING MERGER BETWEEN LIBYA AND EGYPT WOULD IN ANY WAY INFRINGE UPON PRINCIPLE OF FRONTIER INVIOABILITY. MENDELEVICH OBSERVED THAT MERGER WAS TAKING PLACE IN ACCORDANCE WITH FREE EXERCISE OF SOVEREIGNTY OF TWO PARTNERS AND THAT PRINCIPLE THEREFORE WAS NOT AFFECTED. THIS EXCHANGE RESOLVED ISSUE FOR PURPOSES OF MPT.

3. HOLY SEE REP PROPOSED ADDITION OF REFERENCE TO RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN PRINCIPLE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND TABLED FOLLOWING TEXT: " RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS, INCLUDING THE FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, CONSCIENCE, RELIGION OR BELIEF." IN PREARRANGED SCRIPT, WESTERN DELS GENERALLY SUPPORTED PROPOSAL. POLAND, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND GDR DISPLAYED PRO FORMA RESERVE. MENDELEVICH FINALLY ACCEPTED HOLY SEE REP' S PROPOSAL AFTER LATER AGREED TO DROP HIS PROPOSALS IN BASKET THREE FOR MENTION OF INFORMATION ( SEE HELSINKI 1405). ( MENDELEVICH HAD FOREWARNED THAT HE COULD ACCEPT THIS TEXT ONLY IF HE COULD SHOW MOSCOW THAT HE HAD BEEN " VIOLATED FREQUENTLY". TWENTY- THREE WESTERN DELS OBLIGED.)

4. ON LISTING OF PRINCIPLES, MENDELEVICH DELIVERED ANTICIPATED LENGTHY AND WELL- REASONED STATEMENT DESIGNED TO DEMONSTRATE THAT FRONTIER INVIOABILITY, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND SOVEREIGN EQUALITY SHOULD COME AT BEGINNING OF LIST. HE INSISTED THAT THIS PROPOSAL IN NO WAY MEANT THAT SOME PRINCIPLES WERE SUPERIOR TO OTHERS BUT RATHER TOOK INTO ACCOUNT DIFFERENT " NATURES" OF PRINCIPLES. AUSTRIAN, UK, SWISS, AND FRENCH REPS ARGUED THAT LISTING IN SWISS MANDATE SHOULD BE USED. THEY DID NOT CONTEST MENDELEVICH' S QUASI- LEGAL ARGUMENTS BUT STRESSED THAT OTHER ARGUMENTS AND ORDERS WERE POSSIBLE. FRENCH REP NOTED THAT EVENTUAL DECLARATION WOULD NOT NECESSARILY HAVE TO BE " PHOTOGRAPH" OF MANDATE LISTING. MENDELEVICH CONTINUED TO RESIST WESTERN PROPOSAL BUT INVITED ADDITIONAL COMMENT. US REP POINTED OUT THAT DISCUSSION CONCERNED " BASIC PRINCIPLES" AS STATED IN PREAMBLE, WHICH MEANT THAT ALL WERE EQUAL SO SWISS LISTING DID NOT PREJUDICE CASE OF DECLARATION. MENDELEVICH OBSERVED THAT WHEN TIME CAME TO PUT " MEAT ON THE BONES" OF THE MANDATE SAME ARGUMENTS WOULD DOUBTLESS BE REPEATED AND AGREED " FOR OUR PRACTICAL TASK" TO SWISS LISTING.

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5. ROMANIAN REP INSISTED THAT FIRST PRINCIPLE IN SWISS LISTING ON " SOVEREIGN EQUALITY OF STATES" BE BROKEN INTO TWO, WHICH WOULD BE WORDED AS FOLLOWS: "1) THE RIGHT OF EACH STATE TO A FREE EXISTENCE, TO INDEPENDENCE, AND TO SOVEREIGNTY; 2) THE EQUALITY OF THE RIGHTS OF ALL STATES." REACTION TO ROMANIAN PROPOSAL WAS MIXED. SOVIET REP, RATHER SURPRISINGLY, SAID HE COULD ACCEPT IT, AND OTHER WARSAW PACT STATES FOLLOWED SUIT.

ITALIAN REP, REFERRING TO RECENT ITALO- ROMANIAN DECLARATION ISSUED DURING CEAUSESCU VISIT TO ROME, ALSO APPROVED, AND SWISS REP SAID HE HAD NO OBJECTION. UK REP, SUPPORTED BY SPANISH REP, OBJECTED THAT ROMANIAN WORDING WAS REPETITIOUS AND DID NOT ADD CONCEPTS NOT ALREADY IN TEXT. US REP SUPPORTED UK POSITION. ( MATTER WAS LEFT FOR UK- ROMANIAN DISCUSSION OVER WEEKEND.)

6. MINI- GROUP ALSO DISCUSSED INCONCLUSIVELY ROMANIAN PROPOSAL TO ADD PREAMBLE FOR ENTIRE BASKET ONE. THERE IS NO GREAT ENTHUSIASM FOR PROPOSAL, BUT SMALL GROUP ( USSR, ROMANIA, ITALY AND UK) WILL CONSIDER IDEAS OVER THE WEEKEND.  
KREHBIEL

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\*\*\* Current Handling Restrictions \*\*\* n/a  
\*\*\* Current Classification \*\*\* CONFIDENTIAL

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